# The twilight of the public corporation in the US

Jerry Davis The University of Michigan Business History Conference March 29, 2012



Or, how did we get from here...



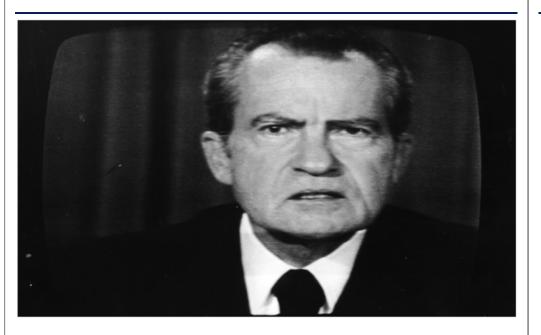
1889-2012\*

...to here...



...and how does it matter?

#### Remember 1974?



### A few giant corporations dominated the economy



30 "blue chips," 1974

Allied Chemical	Eastman Kodak	Owens-Illinois Glass
Alcoa	Exxon	Procter & Gamble
American Can	GE	Sears Roebuck
AT&T	General Foods	Swift & Co
American Tobacco	GM	Texaco
Anaconda Copper	Goodyear	Union Carbide
Bethlehem Steel	International Harvester	United Technologies
Chevron	International Nickel	U.S. Steel
Chrysler	International Paper	Westinghouse Electric
Du Pont	Johns-Manville	Woolworth

#### 10% of the private workforce labored at 25 firms

COMPANY	EMPLOYEES (thousands)
GM	810.92
AT&T	798.934
FORD	474.318
SEARS ROEBUCK	439.493
ITT	438
GE	388
IBM	274.108
CHRYSLER	273.254
JC PENNEY	200
GTE	196
WESTINGHOUSE	194.1
US STEEL	184.794
GOODYEAR	155.4
EXXON	137
RCA	126
KMART	125
SINGER	122
EASTMAN KODAK	120.7
DU PONT	118.423
BETHLEHEM STEEL	118
SAFEWAY	117.221
A&P	113.8
UNION CARBIDE	109.417
INTL HARVESTER	107.89
LITTON INDUSTRIES	105.4



Source: Compustat Annual Industrials

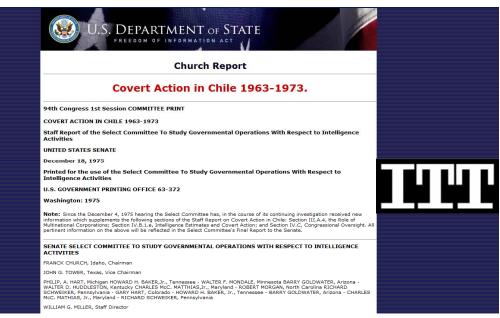
90 white men each served on 5+ corporate boards

ADAMS, CHARLES F.	HARDER, HOWARD C.	MORGENS, HOWARD J.
AYERS, THOMAS G.	HARPER, JOHN D.	MUNROE, GEORGE B.
BENNETT, GEORGE F.	HAUGE, GABRIEL	NYROP, DONALD W.
BERCHER, HARRY O.	HEINEMAN, BEN W.	OELMAN, ROBERT S.
BINGER, JAMES H.	HENLEY, HENRY H., JR.	PALMER, EDWARD L.
BROWN, CHARLES L.	HILLMAN, HENRY L.	PEARSON, NATHAN W.
BROWN, COURTNEY C.	HOLLAND, JEROME H.	PETERKIN, DEWITT, JR.
BROWN, R. MANNING, JR.	HUMPHREY, GILBERT W.	PHALEN, CLIFTON W.
CARLSON, EDWARD E.	JOHNSON, HOWARD W.	POTTER, KEITH R.
CHAMBERS, M.R.	JOHNSON, WILLIAM B.	PROCKNOW, DONALD E.
CHAMPION, GEORGE	KAISER, EDGAR F.	PYNE, EBEN W.
CISLER, WALKER L.	KARNES, WILLIAM G.	ROMNES, H.I.
CONNOR, JOHN T.	LAFORCE, ARNOLD R.	RUSSELL, GEORGE
COOLEY, RICHARD P.	LAPHAM, LEWIS A.	SCHOENHOFEN, LEO H.
COWLES, GARDNER	LAY, HERMAN W.	SIVAGE, GERALD A.
COX, EDWIN L.	LEARSON, T. VINCENT	SMILEY, DONALD B.
CUMMINGS, TILDEN	LEITHEAD, BARRY T.	STANTON, FRANK
CUNNINGHAM, HARRY B.	LEVY, GUSTAVE L.	STEWART, ROBERT H., III
DAMON, ROGER C.	LILLEY, ROBERT D.	STUART, ROBERT D., JR.
DONNELLEY, GAYLORD	LUKE, HUGH D.	THOMAS, FRANKLIN A.
ETHERINGTON, EDWIN D.	MARKS, HARRY T.	THOMAS, JOSEPH A.
FINLEY, JAMES D.	MCCORMICK, BROOKS	TYSON, CHARLES R.
FREEMAN, GAYLORD	MEESE, WILLIAM G.	VENEMA, MAYNARD P.
FUNSTON, G. KEITH	MENK, LOUIS W.	WASSON, E. HORNSBY
GATES, THOMAS S.	MEWHORT, ROLAND A.	WATLINGTON, JOHN F., JR.
GOLDSTON, ELI	MEYER, JOHN M., JR.	WILLIAMS, ALBERT L.
GRAHAM, DONALD M.	MILLER, ARJAY	WILSON, KENDRICK R., JR.
GRAHAM, WILLIAM B.	MITCHELL, DON G.	WORTHINGTON, LESLIE B.
GRAY, JOHN D.	MITCHELL, HAMILTON B.	WRIGHT, JAMES O.
GWINN, ROBERT P.	MORGAN, GRAHAM J.	WRISTON, WALTER B.

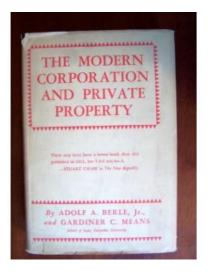
#### (And probably met at the Bohemian Grove)



### (And probably hatched unspeakable conspiracies)



#### A vision of a corporate-centered society



"The factory system, the basis of the industrial revolution, brought an increasingly large number of workers directly under a single management. Then, the modern corporation, equally revolutionary in its effect, placed the wealth of innumerable individuals under the same central control"

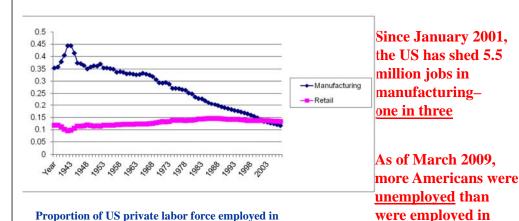
#### Some premises of the corporate-centered society

- 1. The typical corporation makes tangible products
- 2. Corporate *ownership* is broadly dispersed
- 3. Corporate control is concentrated
- 4. Corporations aim to grow bigger in assets and number of employees
- 5. Corporations live a long time

1. The typical corporation makes tangible products

#### Manufacturing employment is increasingly rare in the US

manufacturing



manufacturing and retail, 1939-2010 (Source: BLS)

#### The largest US employers have shifted from manufacturing to retail and other services

#### 10 Largest US Corporate Employers, 1960-2010

<u>1960</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>2010</u>
GM	AT&T	WAL-MART
AT&T	GM	<b>TARGET</b>
FORD	<b>FORD</b>	<b>UPS</b>
GE	<b>GE</b>	KROGER
US STEEL	<b>SEARS</b>	SEARS HLDG
<b>SEARS</b>	<b>IBM</b>	"AT&T"
A&P	ITT	<b>HOME DEPO</b>
EXXON	<b>KMART</b>	WALGREEN
BETH. STEEL	<b>MOBIL</b>	<b>VERIZON</b>
ITT	GTE	<b>SUPERVALU</b>

AL-MART Wal-Mart now ARGET employs roughly ROGER as many Americans as the EARS HLDGS 20 largest AT&T" manufacturers OME DEPOT combined ALGREEN

Manufacturing Oil Services

### Retail jobs are not like manufacturing jobs



- Median hourly wage in "Motor Vehicle Manufacturing" for "Production Occupations" (May 2008): \$27.14
- Median tenure with current employer in "Transportation Equipment Manufacturing" (Jan. 2004 CPS): 8 years



- Median hourly wage in "General Merchandise Stores" for "Sales and Related Occupations" (May 2008): \$9.33
- Median tenure with current employer in "Retail Trade": 3 years
- · Mean weekly hours worked at Wal-Mart: 34
- Estimated annual turnover at Wal-Mart: 40%

### 2. Corporate *ownership* is broadly dispersed

There was a time when the owners of corporations were dispersed "widows and orphans"



SHE'S A PARTNER IN A

hey are typical Americans-some young, some middle ge, some old. They live in every part of the nation.

Ohe may be a homewife in Perenylvania. Another physician in Oregon—a clerk in Illinois—an engineer in Texas—a succhaor in Manachusetts—a miner in or a trisphone employee in Michigan.

For the more part, field System stockholders are zen.

Were the received and stones with the del Sound field and wissen who have per saidle small stones for saving.

BELL TREEPPONE SYSTEM

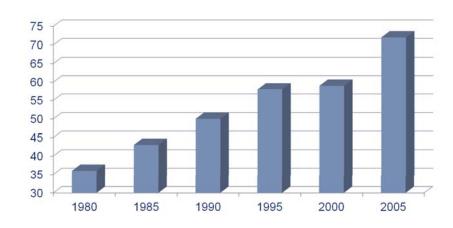
security holders own stock in the American Telephos as one not cent of the work of A T & T

in business-eward by the people it serve



### Our Stockholders

#### Now widows and orphans buy mutual funds and ETFs...



Mean ownership by institutional investors of 1000 largest corporations

Source: Spectrum 13F database, various years

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# ...and Fidelity is the largest shareholder of one in ten US corporations...

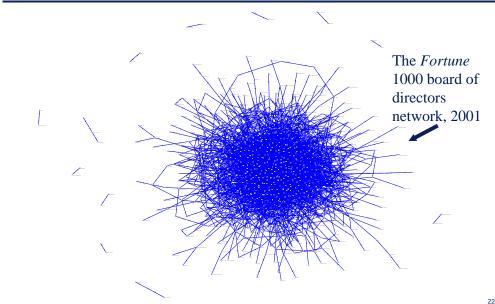


# ...and BlackRock is the largest shareholder of one in *five* US corporations

- BlackRock has \$3.5 trillion in assets under management, including iShares
- BlackRock owns 5% or more of over 1800 US corporations
- BlackRock is the <u>single largest shareholder</u> of <u>one</u> <u>in five</u> US corporations, including
  - ExxonMobil, Chevron, GE, AT&T, Verizon, JP
     Morgan Chase, Citigroup...and over 800 others

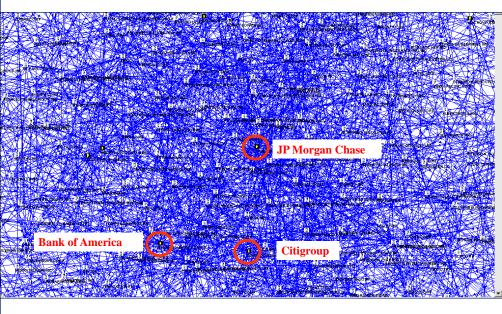
### 3. Corporate control is concentrated

# From Pujo to ~ 2001, corporate elites formed a well-connected old boys' network via shared directors...

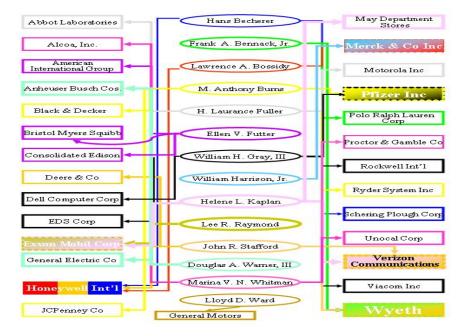


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## ...with banks sitting somewhere in the middle



#### JP Morgan Chase board, 2001

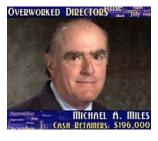


#### Who were the top 5 inner circle directors?









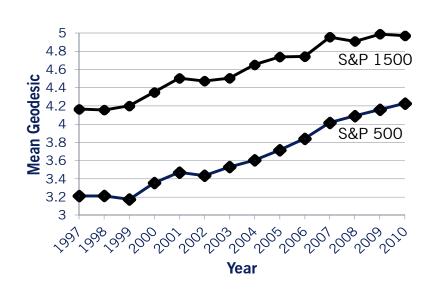


Source: Forbes (2002)

### By 2011, only *one* director served on 5+ boards in the S&P 500, and the "inner circle" was now called "overworked directors"



### No longer such a small world after all



4. Corporations aim to grow bigger in assets and number of employees

# Increased ownership by institutions has corresponded to increased devotion to "shareholder value"...

"We exist to create value for our share owners on a long-term basis by building a business that enhances <a href="https://example.com/The Coca-Cola Company">The Coca-Cola Company</a>'s trademarks."

"Sara Lee Corporation's mission is to build leadership brands in consumer packaged goods markets around the world. Our primary purpose is to create long-term stockholder value."

The US economy is at an advanced stage of Nike-fication

# ...and an orientation to share price has induced massive restructuring favoring the "Nike model"

"Wall Street can wipe you out. They are the rule-setters. They do have their fads, but to a large extent there is an evolution in how they judge companies, and they have decided to give premiums to companies that harbor the most profits for the least assets."

John Bryan, CEO, explaining Sara Lee's "de-verticalization" program

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#### **Corporation ≠ organization: no fixed boundaries**

#### THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LEADER (U.S.) | APRIL 15, 2008

U.S. Upstart Takes On TV Giants in Price War

By CHRISTOPHER LAWTON in San Francisco, YUKARI IWATANI KANE in Tokyo and JASON DEAN in Beijing

But one upstart, Irvine, Calif.-based Vizio Inc., has largely surfed past the industry's woes. Its single focus: churning out low-priced flat-panel TVs.

Vizio is a fraction the size of Sony and Samsung Electronics Co., both leading brands in the U.S. flat-panel market. Yet Vizio shipped 12.4% of North America's liquid-crystal display, or LCD, TVs in the last quarter of 2007. That's just behind Sony's 12.5% share and Samsung's 14.2%, according to research firm iSuppli Corp. Overall, Vizio's sales have multiplied to just under \$2 billion last year, up from \$700 million in 2006 and \$142 million in 2005, according to the closely held company.

The California company's success illustrates the rise of a new business model in the fast-changing TV industry. Big Korean and Japanese consumer-electronics makers spent huge sums developing and marketing their own technology, creating a high barrier to entry for newcomers. They also built many key components in-house, including the all-important LCD and plasma display panels.

But panel technology is becoming ever more commoditized, meaning big brands aren't the only ones controlling the field. The shift has allowed nimble players like Vizio, which handles the design and marketing, to hook up with contract manufacturers and produce their own cheap TVs. At the same time, discount retailers such as Wal-Mart Stores Inc. are increasing their sales in the electronics category, slashing prices in the process.

Vizio now has the largest market share of LCD televisions in the US (22%)—with 196 employees

#### Corporation ≠ organization: no fixed identity



May 9, 2007

#### **ADVERTISING**

#### 101 Brand Names, 1 Manufacturer

The Mass Pet-Food Recall Reveals a Widespread Practice: Many Competing Products Come From the Same Factory

By ELLEN BYRO May 9, 2007

(See Corrections & Amplifications item below.)

Pet owners have been reeling ever since tainted pet food led to the confirmed deaths of more than a dozen dogs and cats and likely sickened many more.

Some owners were also startled to learn that dozens of competing brands, from discount to premium, are all made by the same company, Menu Foods Inc. of Ontario.

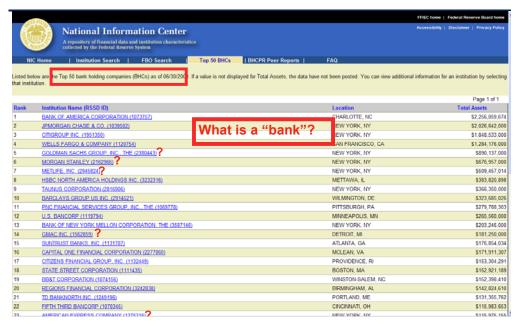
Menu has recalled more than 60 million cans of pet food under more than 100 brand names ranging from **Procter & Gamble** Co.'s Iams and Eukanuba brands to Hill's Pet Nutrition Science Diet, owned by **Colgate-Palmolive** Co., to Ol' Roy pet food by **Wal-Mart Stores** Inc. Each was apparently affected by wheat gluten contaminated with melamine, a chemical substance with no approved use in food.

Poisonous pet chow containing melamine from China was made by an Ontario-based manufacturer but sold under dozens of different US brand names.

The global OEM model is not just for Nike anymore.

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### Corporation ≠ organization: no fixed industry



#### Corporation ≠ organization: no fixed nationality

#### THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MAY 27 2000

#### Accenture to Move Base To Ireland From Bermuda

By KATHY SHWIFF

Accenture Ltd. said its board has voted to change the consulting company's place of incorporation to Ireland from Bermuda.

Accenture incorporated in Bermuda in 2001 after the company did an initial public offering.

Several large companies have recently announced plans to reincorporate from Bermuda, helping them avoid what are expected to be significant changes in how the U.S. taxes multinational corporations. Earlier this month, drug maker Warner Chilcott Ltd. said its board approved a plan to relocate to Ireland from Bermuda.

Accenture shareholders will be asked to vote on the proposed move at meetings in the next three to four months.

"We believe that incorporating in Ireland will provide Accenture with economic benefits and help ensure our continued global competitiveness," said Chairman and Chief Executive William D. Green, adding that the company will benefit from Ireland's well-developed corporate, legal and regulatory environment.

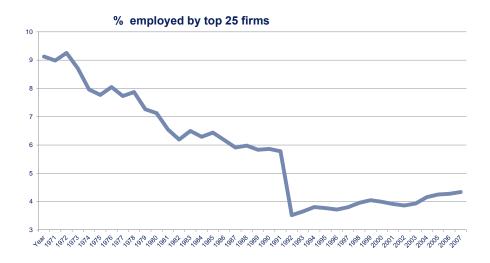
The technology outsourcing and management consulting company doesn't expect any material change in its operations, financial results or tax treatment as a result of the change.

The company will continue to be registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission and its shares will continue to trade on the New York Stock Exchange.

#### Corporation ≠ organization: no employees



# Spinoffs, layoffs, and outsourcing have shrunk the largest US corporations



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics; Compustat Annual Industrials

### 5. Corporations live a long time

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#### About those dominant corporations...

Allied Chemical	Eastman Kodak	Owens-Winois Clase
Alcoa	Exxon	Procter & Gamble
American Can	GE	Sears Roobuck
AT&T	General Foods	Swift & Co
American Tobacco	GM-	Texace
Anaconda Coppor	Goodyear	Union Carbide
Bethlehem Steel	International Harvester	United Technologies
Chevron	International Nickel	U.S. Steel
Chrysler	International Paper	Westinghouse Electric
Du Pont	Jehne Manville	Woolworth



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April 12, 201

### For Flip Video Camera, Four Years From Hot Start-Up to Obsolete

By SAM GROBART and EVELYN M. RUSLI

It was one of the great tech start-up success stories of the last decade.

The Flip video camera, conceived by a few entrepreneurs in an office above Gump's department store in San Francisco, went on sale in 2007, and quickly dominated the camcorder market.

The start-up sold two million of the pocket-size, easy-to-use cameras in the first two years. Then, in 2009, the founders cashed out and sold to Cisco Systems, the computer networking giant, for \$590 million.

On Tuesday, Cisco announced it was shutting down its Flip video camera division.

Even in the life cycle of the tech world, this is fast.

From the outset, the acquisition was an odd fit for Cisco, which is known for its enterprise networking services. To some analysts, the decision to shutter Flip was an admission by Cisco that it made a mistake.

"Cisco was swayed by the sexiness of selling to the consumer," said Mo Koyfman, a principal at Spark Capital, a Boston venture capital firm. "They're not wired to do it themselves, so they do it by acquisition. Flip was one of the most visible targets out there. But it's really hard to turn an elephant into a horse. Cisco's an elephant."

But the rapid rise, and now demise, of Flip is also a vivid illustration of the ferocious metabolism of the consumer marketplace

#### Some premises of the corporate-centered society

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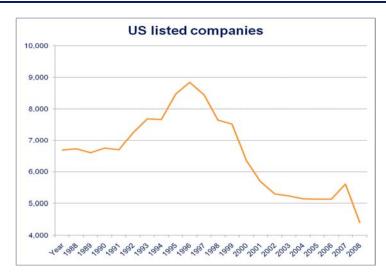
#### The "going public" fad of the 1990s is long gone



Source: Jay Ritter, University of Florida

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# As a result, the number of public corporations in the US has dropped by over *half* since 1997



Source: World Bank World Development Indicators 2011

# And the companies going public today ignore basic standards of corporate governance

#### THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

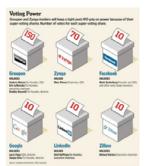
WSJ.cor

TECHNOLOGY | October 28, 2011

#### One Share, One Vote?

Groupon and Zynga Founders Get Extra Clout Before IPOs

The founders of Groupon Inc., the daily deals site expected to launch its initial public offering of stock next week, and Zynga Inc, the social-gaming company whose IPO is expected next month, are bolstering their voting clout over ordinary shareholders, according to regulatory filings.



After Groupon goes public, its three founders will have shares that each carry 150 votes, according to the company's latest regulatory filings. Investors who buy ordinary shares in the IPO or in the market, by contrast, will receive one vote per share for corporate matters such as the election of directors or sale of the company.

At Zynga, founder Mark Pincus has a similar arrangement but his shares carry 70 votes each, according to regulatory filings.

The issue is expected to be on investors' minds as they meet with Groupon management this week, including at lunch in New York on Friday at the St. Regis hotel. Zynga's offering is currently expected to follow on the heels of Groupon's.

Groupon and Zynga declined to comment, as did their respective founders.

Two-tiered share structures skewed toward insiders aren't new in U.S. companies. But the large gap between the voting rights of the two classes of shareholders at Groupon and Zynga breaks new ground not just for the Internet sphere but for companies broadly, investors and corporate-governance experts say. As such, the two IPOs could prove a test of investors' appetite for executive control.

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March 27, 2012

#### Final Approval by House Sends Jobs Bill to President for Signature

WASHINGTON — The House gave overwhelming final approval on Tuesday to a package of measures intended to ease access to capital and investments for entrepreneurs, sending the bipartisan legislation to President Obama, who has said he will sign it.

The 380-to-41 House vote added a final exclamation point for the JOBS Act, which passed the House overwhelmingly early this month and easily passed the Senate last Thursday. Because the Senate amended the House version to add some investor protections, the House had to take it back up for a vote before sending it to the White House.

"The bipartisan JOBS Act represents an increasingly rare legislative victory in Washington where both sides seized the opportunity to work together, improved the bill and passed it with strong bipartisan support," said Representative Eric Cantor, Republican of Virginia, the House majority leader and the primary architect of the package.

The JOBS Act started as a cluster of minor bills that had bipartisan support and little opposition. Many of them originated at the White House out of the recommendations of Mr. Obama's jobs council, a group of business and labor leaders whose final report made few waves.

But with the economy still looming large in the 2012 campaign, Republicans and Democrats — Mr. Obama among them — found it advantageous to pump up those modest measures into legislation promoted as a significant effort to hasten the recovery of the labor market.

"As the clock moves relentlessly toward November, people are going to have to show results," said Senator Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon and a supporter of the measure.

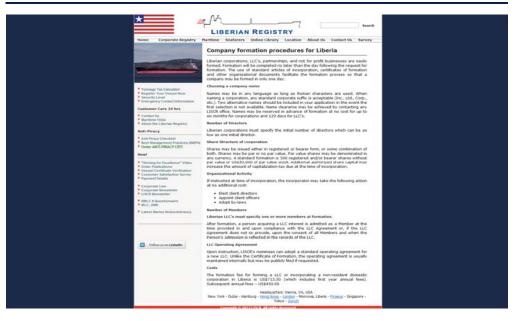
### How-to guide for an instant startup, ca. 2012

- Product: iPhone "remote drone assassin"
- Target market: neo-mercenary firms

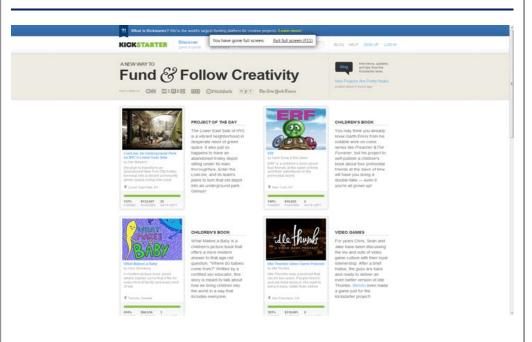
#### 1. Rent a desk in a shared office



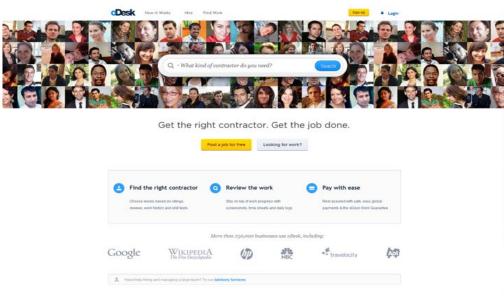
#### 2. Incorporate online in Liberia for \$713.50



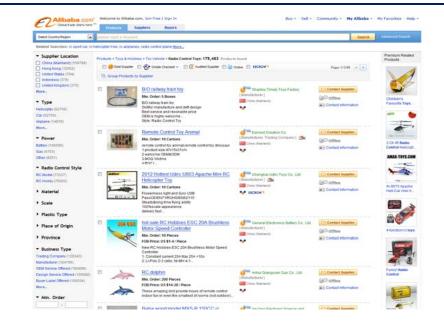
#### 3. Crowdsource the funding at Kickstarter



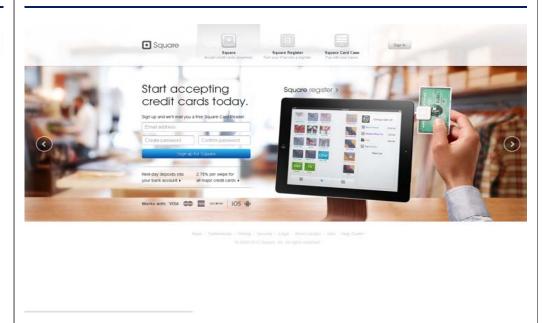
#### 4. Hire programmers for the app at oDesk



#### 5. Find a Chinese drone vendor at Alibaba.com



#### 6. Set up a payment system at Squaredup



#### 7. Get it shipped from the dock to our customers



### **Conclusion**

The public corporation in the US is now unnecessary for production, unsuited for stable employment and the provision of social welfare services, and incapable of providing a reliable long-term return on investment

